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/140 cont./

868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled, for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets. They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized, such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment, circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing more delicate work, such as the observations and handling of meteorological instruments (5).

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5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre) also made a similar observation.

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They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

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491 524 [192] One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one called Wãx-tĩ Max-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

501 868 [226] [147] Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home. Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

501 The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

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866 They act as they please. They do not listen to the requests that the parents direct to them. They do not perform the tasks requested. The slightest whims of the child (56)

> 56. The child is the one who decides whether he is going to board in the school, whether he will not return the following year, whether he wants to leave during the course of the year, etc. The parents do or say nothing concerning these decisions.

are considered. From an early age they officially smoke and drink the fermented drinks at the caxirís. With such independence one might foresee the development of rebellious and quarrelsome types, which, in fact, does not happen. This is because, counterbalancing the spirit of autonomy, there is that of absolute adherence to the disciplinary laws of the tribe, a spirit that is developed with /436/ the beliefs and becomes firmly established through the example of the elders and the ceremonial practices.

Actually there is no school or official instruction, except for the "course of puberty initiation." The maloca, however, with its habitual life or the extraordinary one of the feasts, is a practical and social school in everything.

562 The daughter takes a "course in the domestic profession" at
• 868 the side of her mother, watching her work, helping her, receiving her corrections. Upon reaching nubile age, she will be perfectly prepared to organize and supervise the new home, whereas a contemporary of hers among the civilized would manage this
[797] with difficulty. At present, in the educational establishments of the Missions, they not only attend a real "course in home economics," but some even become skilled at tasks that are specialties of another tribe (57).

> 57. These tasks, however, which are outside the primitive pattern of the tribe, constitute knowledge that the mother either will not

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/footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

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58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an atura on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

476 There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

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868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

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59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

(437) 7) Puberty initiation.

881 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

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Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

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60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

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562 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's train-
568 ing, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajuris, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head [423] may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or [428] uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib.

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial [177] fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, 226 by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. 868 The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no [593] father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up.

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and urged to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his fa- [224] ther as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills.

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade [438] in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually.

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although 226 to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fish- 554 ing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill.

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[591] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal resi-
[601] dence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is *hwainko* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in-group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities and upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminol-
[601] ogy does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainko* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception.

[867] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the
• [868] economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relation-
[601] ship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as *hwainyó*. His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *pani* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

607 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are
601 those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*